

Meet

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DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
HUMINT Committee

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

HC 85-049
1 February 1985

11 FEB 1985

LOGGED

MEMORANDUM FOR: See Distribution
FROM: Chairman, HUMINT Committee
SUBJECT: Ad Hoc Interagency Working Meeting

1. An Ad Hoc Interagency Working Group meeting will be held at 1400 hours, on Friday, 8 February 1985 in Room 6N02, [] for the purpose of discussing the status and budgetary considerations for the Project on the Study of Contemporary Soviet Society. []

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2. A synopsis of the Project and a trip report highlighting the results of my field survey visits to selected university and research centers on the West Coast are attached for your information. []

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Attachments:

- A. Project Synopsis
- B. Survey Visit Results and Follow-up

THIS MEMORANDUM IS UNCLASSIFIED
WHEN SEPARATED FROM ATTACHMENTS

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ATTACHMENT A

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HC 84-500
24 December 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chairman, HUMINT Committee

VIA: C/CCS
VC/HC

SUBJECT: Survey Visit Results and Follow-up

1. Background/Purpose. Survey visits were made by C/HC and undersigned to selected institutions in California in an effort to stimulate detailed discussion and exchanges on the proposed Project for the Study of Contemporary Soviet Society, and to assess institutional capabilities and receptivity toward development of competitive requests for proposals (RFP) once funding is approved. During the period 10-13 December 1964, survey visits were made to the Slavic Center, University of California, Berkeley/Stanford University, San Francisco area, and the RAND/UCLA Center for the Study of Soviet International Behavior (CSSIB), Santa Monica/Los Angeles region. Visits were also made to the Naval Post Graduate School and the Defense Language Institute, Monterey, to determine the status of ongoing Government institutional Soviet open-source S&T exploitation, area and language training programs.

2. Discussion Summary. Exploratory discussions show a high degree of enthusiasm for the program by the prospective host organizations visited. Detailed exchanges with a number of recognized scholars clearly indicate that minimal academic, as well as government attention is being given to the study and monitoring of societal trends and domestic pressures impacting on the Soviet leadership. Substantial and mutual academic support and interest for the Project clearly exists, particularly since the systematic and programmatic approach envisioned will revitalize an important field of study that has long suffered from neglect. Rand/UCLA (CSSIB) has significant advantages for location and direction of the Project.

3. Survey Visit Findings

a. [REDACTED] 25X1

[REDACTED] University of California, Berkeley, 11 December 1984 insights and 25X1
related follow-up actions:

(1) Major Discussion Points

- o Academic focus on internal trends and impact on Soviet leadership suffers from neglect.
- o Only a handful of qualified specialists are focusing on societal studies. Main academic effort is directed toward Soviet international security and policies.

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- o Crucial need for Govern/Academic partnership to revitalize the systematic study and monitoring of contemporary Soviet societal trends. (Harvard Project-1950s last major effort. [redacted] (Stanford) and other associated scholars have since been drawn to other fields).
- o Project envisioned would stimulate new and innovative efforts, and draw qualified scholars/students into field of study.
- o Wide-range of potentially significant open-source materials on popular culture, societal attitudes, values and perceptions are not being exploited, i.e., sociological journals, popular literature, media, etc.
- o Should not leave Project management/focus to emigre scholars alone. Instead, must team qualified emigres with methodology provided by Western scholars. Teaming concept would combine strengths of emigre insights with more rigorous Western scholarship base of evidence.
- o In-depth and systematic focus should be given to the following studies on contemporary Soviet society:
 - popular culture/social values and attitudes;
 - societal optimism/pessimism;
 - internal pressures on leadership;
 - social stability and elite perspectives;
 - "management" of multinational state; and
 - domestic links with foreign policy i.e., Polish events, Sino-Soviet, Afghanistan (vulnerability assessments) etc.
- o Need strong, well-qualified Project Director (substance/methodology) who is familiar with the status and relatively limited ongoing efforts in the area of contemporary Soviet society.
- o Need to consult/link Project with available methodology and data bases of recognized national and international scholars, i.e., [redacted]

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- o Project should include "Advisory Committee" consisting of recognized outside scholars representing multidisciplinary approaches. Advisory Committee members could substantially assist in providing realistic and sharpened focus to the Project, to include methodology and substance by conducting a "brainstorming" session at an early stage of the planning process.
- o Project core should consist of director, qualified emigres and Western scholars, as well as post-graduate students to assist in developing research base and providing long-term continuity.
- o Need for periodic direct exchanges between Project Director and Working Group consisting of Government consumers to enhance product focus and usefulness (policy relevance). This procedure would minimize current misunderstandings generated through the use of the National Council for Soviet and East European Research NCSEER) as an intermediary in the ongoing SIP.
- o Although initial multiyear funding (5 years) should be sponsored by the "Government as the catalyst for this pioneering effort", the envisioned Center should be encouraged to draw funds from other sources, i.e., endowments, foundations. A "Challenge Grant" may provide the means for longer term self-sustaining funding and Center continuity. (Note: The Berkeley/Stanford Slavic Center was the recipient of one million dollar Rockefeller Foundation Grant).
- o The lack of systematic academic focus on the study of contemporary Soviet society is a topic of concern that will be raised at the next Joint Committee on Soviet Studies "brainstorming" session to be held in New York City in January 1985. Soviet "literature and popular culture" is a topic that will also be given additional emphasis during follow-up Joint Committee meetings in April. C/HC might be invited to participate during the latter event.
- o The Berkeley/Stanford Slavic Center would enthusiastically welcome the opportunity to participate in the Project (NOTE: Center emphasis on multidisciplinary approach toward systematic monitoring of Soviet "popular culture").

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(2) Follow-up Action

- o Continue review materials produced by recognized national and international scholars and determine appropriate Project links. (C/HC visits to related international, as well as national centers to identify scope of potential contributions and involvement).
- o Consider establishment of "Advisory Committee" of qualified outsiders to participate in "brainstorming" session and to provide sharpened methodological and substantive focus to the Project at an early stage after funding is approved.
- o Consider "Challenge Grant" funding concept for inclusion in the proposed competitive RFP to insure self-sustaining institutional funding and long-term Center continuity.
- o Coordinate with [] to determine results of Joint Committee deliberations on Soviet Society in January, and consider participation in follow-on Standing Subcommittee meeting on Soviet Literature and Popular Culture, [] to be held in New York, 12-13 April 85. 25X1
- o Consider [] for role on Advisory Committee, and the Slavic Center as a potential resource base for the study of Soviet popular culture. 25X1

b. [] Duke University, NC highlighted the results of his collaborative work with [] on the Soviet economy as part of the SIP: 25X1
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- o Indicators show deteriorating quality of life in Soviet society is having distinct demographic impact i.e., decrease in male life expectancy, increase in suicide rate, and rise in alcoholism.
- o Leadership recognizes problem, but efforts to resolve dilemma have proven ineffectual (problems are largely systemic). Tax on spirits provide 12-15 % of national revenue. Government attempts to prohibit or limit sales would result in shifting the production and sales of alcohol to the second economy and would have minimal impact.

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- o Prefers the use of qualified emigres to conduct surveys. (Improved control of bias, overstatement, and paranoia when qualified emigres conduct interviews)
- o Detailed research [] and interviews of emigres indicate that official statistics understate sales in private urban markets by a factor of seven. Conversely, production of meat and milk products by state enterprises is grossly overstated. Approximately 50% of the gasoline for private sale and use is pilfered from the State . 25X1
- c. [] Stanford University 25X1
underscored the following points:
 - o Soviet Society is the "single most neglected area of Soviet studies". With exception of Harvard Project, this task has virtually been ignored. Need for systematic focus on topic is clear.
 - o Research on USSR social trends and pathologies, as well as their impact on the Soviet leadership is both timely and important. No major program exists in the country to adequately study societal trends, and a mass of available open-source material is not being exploited. Believes that [] concerns are fully justified. 25X1
 - o Does not see Harvard to be a serious competitor as a prospective host for the Project, particularly since most of the talent formerly associated with the initial effort in the 50s have already left. (No Harvard based Ph.D. training in this area being conducted. Other universities, now have more capability).
 - o While Columbia University has some impressive scholars i.e., [] there is minimal guidance or interaction with a talented student body. This factor undermines a potentially useful foundation of research. 25X1
 - o While competitive with the Berkeley/Stanford program, believes the Rand/UCLA Soviet studies program is weak in assessment of Soviet media.
 - o Main challenge is to systematically focus on social dynamics and the impact on the Soviet leadership. There is a clear need to encourage the interest and training of a younger generation of scholars toward this important field of research.

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- o Believes that additional effort must be also made to exploit the emigre insights on the topic. At the same time, advises a rigorous methodological approach to minimize the tendency toward "wishful thinking". Agrees that teaming concept offers the most promise in more accurately assessing the degree and scope of social discontent in the USSR, particularly the impact on the Soviet leadership.

d. [redacted] Stanford University, author, and former OSS analyst with an extensive background in developing methodologies to assess cross-cultural perceptions underscored his support for the goals of the Project:

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- o The author of Managing The US-Soviet Rivalry detailed his experiences and current efforts to assess cross-cultural perceptions, particularly his work on Soviet leadership signalling and crisis management.
- o Stressed the need for a systematic monitoring effort to better understand domestic concerns and the constraints on the Soviet leadership, and emphasized the need to minimize our own cultural misperceptions.
- o Methodological approach should focus on the Soviet media to obtain better understanding of attitudes, values, and cultural perspectives. The use of Western models and assumptions in describing Soviet behavior will continue to perpetuate inaccurate analytical assumptions.
- o Encourages continued government/academic partnership in pursuing Project and lauded the efforts of [redacted] Rand/UCLA Center as a prime example of successful collaboration in meeting this need.

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e. Visits to Naval Postgraduate School (NPS), and the Defense Language School (DLI), Monterey, 12 December 1984.

(1) Discussion Summary

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-Need to stimulate greater academic interest in Soviet S&T;

-Need to exploit Soviet S&T holdings at international libraries, (i.e., Hanover, Dr Weinberg taking follow-up action);

-Appreciate IC Steering Group S&T efforts to enhance CIRC and translation support for both R&D and Intelligence Communities;

-Would use NHCPs to identify useful topics for student research;

-Support reversal of current graduate training procedures, e.g., NPS/Language. Emphasizes research advantage if language conducted before area studies training;

-Shortage of TDY funds to enable faculty research projects in social science areas (Prof Weinberg stated that he could help resolve this problem); and

-Requests assist in cutting thru bureaucratic tape to enable a highly qualified NPS faculty member to conduct academic research project 25X1

(2) Follow-up Action

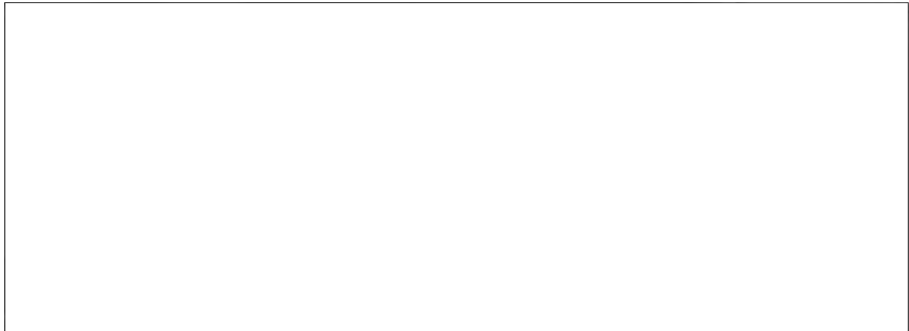
- o Coordinate with Navy HC Backup Member for transmittal and use of NHCPs for assistance in topic research by NPS graduate students.
- o HUMINT Committee Soviet S&T Steering Group Executive Secretary maintain links with NCIST to determine status and progress.

(3)

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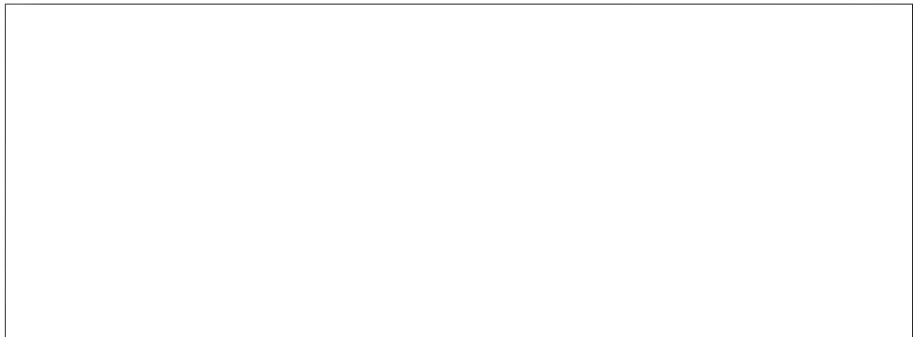
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- o To enhance understanding of Soviet society and culture, best students and officer classes are given intensive language training in Russian Cultural House.
- o DLI plans call for construction of segregated Russian language area (village) with all signs in Russian to encourage more intensive use.
- o COL Stovall, CMDT US Army Russian Institute, Garmish has coordinated with DLI to insure increase in language standards for officer trainees.
- o Representatives raised the problem of obtaining current Russian language tapes for use in training. Numerous efforts to resolve this problem over the past few years have not been successful.

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(4) Follow-up Action

- o Assist DLI in efforts to obtain current language tapes for training.
- o Determine means to encourage support and funding for the continuity of [redacted] ASEEPL project, and consider for role in Soviet Society Project.

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f. Subsequent discussions with [redacted], Rand/UCLA Center for the Study of Soviet International Behavior (CSSIB) [redacted] State, and other scholars [redacted] at Rand, Santa Monica, 13 December 1984 highlighted:

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- o The former NIO, USSR fully aware of the Community's efforts to enhance understanding of political and social discontent in USSR, and the relatively limited academic focus on the topic.
- o Since 40s, Rand traditionally in the forefront in providing policy relevant scholarship.
- o Significant experience in interviewing emigres (Rand data base contains over 800 emigre contributors, and over 350 transcribed taped interviews). Fully supportive of teaming emigres/Western scholars to alter conventional wisdom in studies.
- o Substantial shift in Soviet-oriented scholarship to the West Coast. Rand has largest number of full-time Sovietologists-12, and number will grow as a result of consortium with UCLA (currently 22). See 1985-86 CSSIB program at attachment 1, 1984 CSSIB Calendar at attachment 2, and Conference on US Soviet Relations: The Next Phase, at attachment 3).
- o Declining national focus on internal Soviet dynamics since Harvard project in 50s resulted from relatively limited research funding, particularly in contrast to funding for military and foreign policies (limited constituency).
- o Clear need to upgrade national on Soviet society is reason why Rand is negotiating with [redacted] for full-time position in February 1985. (NOTE: consensus of Working Group members and various academics that [redacted] is best qualified candidate to serve as Project Director. See VITA at attachment 4)
- o Rand "clipping center", computerized index capabilities and library infrastructure are primarily oriented toward effective research support.
- o Extensive Soviet open-source holdings are complemented by broad access to all-source classified intelligence data base to support research needs of Intelligence and policy consumers.

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- o Rand would prefer direct Intelligence Community Staff funding and relationship with consumers and would agree to serve as the prime research center and subcontracting agent for the Project, to include collaboration with qualified emigres. (In contrast, academic community not comfortable with IC direct funding role and prefers State funding).
- o Rand scholars maintain professional research exchange with a number of international institutes and Soviet emigre scholars i.e., Israeli academics/emigres (circumvent bureaucratic obstacles).
- o [] underscored his desire to direct the Project, during a period when the Soviet leadership is in the process of diagnosing societal dilemmas. Party elites are now in the throes of assessing implications and tradeoffs. Unfortunately, day to day priorities in government, and precious few academics attentive to this area of study remains a problem. [] believes that the network of scholars envisioned by the Project is the most effective way to proceed. (The need to reestablish and legitimize sociological studies on the USSR is most timely. We have yet to establish the fundamental base lines to measure changes and trends in Soviet society). 25X1
- o [] emphasized that there are few sociologists comparable to Harvard in the 50s to train a new generation of scholars. Goal of Rand/UCLA CSSIB is to add course work to help meet this need. (NOTE: the Rockefeller Foundation has awarded \$500,000 to CSSIB to support its innovative Soviet studies program). 25X1

(2) Follow-up Action.

- o The Rand/UCLA program appears to have significant advantages for the management and direction of the Project. In contrast to other academic institutions, visited, advantages include:
 - Traditional focus on policy relevant studies, and largest national base of Soviet area scholars;
 - Rand/UCLA Center Director [] thoroughly familiar with mutual government/academic objectives and capabilities;

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[redacted] (prospective Director) ideal candidate to organize and manage national network of scholars toward accomplishment of Project objectives, as well as establish links with recognized national centers of academic excellence (minimize parochial institutional approach): 25X1

--MSU/U of M [redacted] 25X1

--Berkeley/Stanford [redacted] Soviet literature and popular culture); 25X1

--Russian Research Center, Harvard U [redacted] 25X1
[redacted] 25X1

--Emory U [redacted] -Soviet Media); 25X1

--U of Illinois (Soviet Emigre Interview Project); and

--Other recognized national and international institutions.

-Direct IC funding to Rand precludes potential complications through use of intermediate funding structure, i.e., NCSEER; and

-Rand also repository of related classified studies.

o Follow-up Survey Visits:

-Emory U, 14 February 1985; and

-U of Indiana/Hudson Inst, and U of Illinois [redacted] SIP)-to be scheduled. 25X1

[redacted] 25X1

HUMINT Committee

Attachments:
as stated

RAND/UCLA Center for the Study of Soviet International Behavior

announces

THE 1985-86 PROGRAM OF ADVANCED RESEARCH AND TRAINING IN SOVIET STUDIES

THE RAND CORPORATION
RAND/UCLA
Center for the Study of
Soviet International Behavior
1700 Main Street, P.O. Box 2138
Santa Monica, California 90406-2138

Rand



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CORPORATION

ports a program for a limited number of visiting fellows drawn from among senior U.S. or foreign scholars, faculty members of smaller U.S. colleges and universities, and postdoctoral students.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

The Center is committed to disseminating its research findings to the widest possible audience. It uses research publications, seminars and conferences to inform both the public and professional communities, including legislators, business executives, and the news media, about issues relating to the Soviet Union. It also attempts to reach the educational community at the undergraduate and secondary school levels as well as the graduate level. The Center plans to distribute a semi-annual newsletter detailing its activities and advertising its public education functions.

ADMINISTRATION

Director — Arnold Horelick
Co-Director — Andrzej Korbonski
Program Coordinator — William Potter

ADDRESS

Further information about the RAND/UCLA Center and applications for fellowships may be obtained from:

Director
The Rand/UCLA Center for the
Study of Soviet International Behavior
1700 Main Street
Santa Monica, CA 90406-2138

Applications for the 1985-86 academic year should be received by December 31, 1984. Students must also apply separately for admission to the Rand Graduate Institute or the University of California, Los Angeles. UCLA application forms may be obtained from Graduate Admissions, Graduate Division, 1247 Murphy Hall, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024. Applicants for admission to the RCI should write to The Rand Graduate Institute, 1700 Main Street, P.O. Box 2138, Santa Monica, CA 90406-2138.

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THE RAND/UCLA CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF SOVIET INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR

In October 1983 The Rand Corporation and the University of California at Los Angeles established a new joint Center for the Study of Soviet International Behavior. With major grant assistance from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Rand/UCLA Center supports a broad program of analytic and policy relevant research in Soviet international behavior, provides training leading to a doctoral degree at UCLA or The Rand Graduate Institute, and disseminates its research findings to the public.

The Center's interdisciplinary program in Soviet international behavior is designed to help alleviate the national shortage of specialists in Soviet foreign and military policy and to strengthen advanced research in this field. The joint program represents a major innovation in the area of Soviet studies, combining Rand's outstanding research capabilities in Soviet foreign and military policy with the broad and well-established infrastructure in Russian and East European graduate training at one of the nation's leading universities. Together, Rand and UCLA have more than twenty faculty and research staff members who are specialists in Soviet international behavior, a concentration of expertise unmatched at any nongovernmental center.

GRADUATE TRAINING

The Center supports a number of graduate fellows in a three-year program tailored to a Ph.D. with a concentration in Soviet international behavior. The curriculum combines three elements: graduate courses in the particular discipline; core graduate courses in Soviet studies; and unique on-the-job training in research on the Soviet Union, under the supervision of Rand staff members. CSSIB students enroll at either UCLA or the Rand Graduate Institute (RGI), depending upon their major field, and take core courses at both institutes. Participating UCLA departments are economics, history, and political science. The RGI offers a doctorate in policy analysis.

Participants in the CSSIB program are expected to satisfy the normal degree requirements of their parent institutions (i.e., UCLA or RGI). In addition they must

successfully complete the following ten quarter courses:

- U.S.-Soviet relations
- Soviet military thought and policy
- Soviet policy toward selected regions
- the Soviet economy and Soviet international economic behavior
- Soviet policymaking (economic, political, military)
- domestic foundations of Soviet foreign policy
- policy analysis and methodology workshop (2 quarters)
- research seminar, involving use of Russian language sources (2 quarters)

The starred courses (*) will be offered at the RGI; the remaining courses at UCLA. The UCLA campus and the RGI are in close (15 minute) proximity.

ADMISSIONS

Participants in the RAND/UCLA Soviet International Behavior program must satisfy the graduate admission requirements set by the relevant department at UCLA or by the RGI. It is strongly preferred that CSSIB applicants should possess, in addition to the normal admission requirements of the sponsoring institution:

- reading proficiency in Russian
- knowledge of Soviet economics, history, and politics at the undergraduate level

Otherwise qualified applicants with inadequate preparation in the Russian language will be required to complete an intensive language course at UCLA in the summer preceding entry to the CSSIB program.

FELLOWSHIP SUPPORT

The CSSIB offers up to five fellowships annually to selected students in doctoral programs at UCLA and the Rand Graduate Institute who elect to specialize in Soviet international behavior. These fellowships, renewable annually, cover tuition and provide a \$10,000 annual stipend. Fellowship awards are contingent on admission to the degree program at either institution. Receipt of a Center fellowship, however, is not a condition for admission to the CSSIB program.

First and second year fellows are required to undertake on-the-job training in a research project and can expect to receive approximately \$4,000 a year for the equivalent of three months of full-time research during the academic year and summer. Third year fellows working on a dissertation will be covered by a combination of Center and Rand Corporation contract funds and can expect to receive an average of \$15,000 for the year.

FACULTY AND RESEARCH STAFF

The CSSIB draws upon a staff at Rand and UCLA with extensive academic and government experience in the field of Soviet international behavior. Staff members offer courses at each other's institutions and conduct research across a broad range of topics bearing on Soviet international behavior. Rand and UCLA specialists in Soviet affairs include:

Arthur Alexander Economics Dept., Rand; Soviet military economics
 Alexander Alexiev Political Science Dept., Rand; Soviet foreign policy and East European politics
 Jeremy Azrael Political Science Dept., Rand (beginning January 1985); Soviet politics and foreign policy
 Kendall Baller History Dept., UCLA; Soviet history
 Abraham Becker Economics Dept., Rand; Soviet economics and foreign economic relations
 David Cattell Political Science Dept., UCLA; Soviet politics and foreign policy
 Keith Crane Economics Dept., Rand; Soviet and East European economics
 Francis Fukuyama Political Science Dept., Rand; Soviet foreign and military policy
 Harry Gelman Political Science Dept., Rand; Soviet politics and foreign policy
 Ross Gottenmiller Political Science Dept., Rand; Soviet military policy
 Arnold Herflick Political Science Dept., Rand; Soviet politics, foreign and military policy
 A. Ross Johnson Political Science Dept., Rand; East European politics and Soviet-East European relations
 Simon Kessel Political Science Dept., Rand; Soviet science and technology policy
 Roman Kalikowicz Political Science Dept., UCLA; Soviet politics, foreign and military policy

Andrzej Karbanski Political Science Dept., UCLA; East-European politics and Soviet-East European relations

Benjamin Lambeth Political Science Dept., Rand; Soviet military policy

Nathan Leites Economics Dept., Rand; Soviet politics, foreign and military policy

George Murphy Economics Dept., UCLA; Soviet economics

Nancy Nims Economics Dept., Rand; Soviet economics

William Potter Political Science Dept., UCLA; Soviet foreign and military policy

Hans Riegger History Dept., UCLA; Soviet history

Edward Warner Political Science Dept., Rand; Soviet foreign and military policy

ADVANCED RESEARCH

The Center's research programs build upon the strong foundations of Soviet research at Rand and UCLA. In its research effort, CSSIB seeks a balance between (1) research to enlarge the broad base of academic knowledge that supports the study of Soviet international behavior and (2) research to address directly those aspects of Soviet behavior most critically related to the conduct of U.S. foreign, defense, and arms control policies.

The Center focuses on issues that cut across disciplines—economics, science and technology, military affairs, politics, and international relations. Research interests of particular concern to CSSIB include:

- Military and arms control issues
- East-West economic relations
- Soviet relations with Eastern Europe
- Soviet relations with the Third World
- Domestic determinants of Soviet international behavior

The Center sponsors conferences and seminars to further its research objectives. The products of Center-supported research are published as Center papers, monographs, and books.

In addition to expanding the scope of research on Soviet international behavior conducted by the Rand research staff and UCLA faculty, the Center also sup-



RAND/UCLA

Center for the Study of Soviet International Behavior

1984 CSSIB CALENDAR

January 23

Steven Meyer, Professor of Political Science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, conducted a seminar on "Soviet Theater Nuclear Forces: Doctrine and Missions." The Rand Corporation.

February 1

Hou Zitong, a Chinese specialist on the Soviet Union attached to the PRC Embassy in Washington, made a presentation on the state of Sino-Soviet relations. The Rand Corporation.

February 16

Maurie Eisenstein, ACDA representative on the U.S. START delegation, gave a briefing on the status of the negotiations and conducted a dialogue on future prospects. The Rand Corporation.

April 3 - Luncheon Seminar

Arnold Horelick discussed "U.S.-Soviet Relations and Prospects for 1984" following his trip to Moscow where he participated in meetings with Soviet specialists on strategy and arms control. UCLA.

April 4

Ben Lambeth spoke on "The Study of Soviet Military Affairs: A Review of the Field." The Rand Corporation.

April 24

Raymond Hutchings, a British economist specializing in Soviet and East European affairs, led an informal seminar on his recent visit to Albania and presented slides covering political and economic developments. The Rand Corporation.

May 3 - Dinner Seminar

Seweryn Bialer, Ruggles Professor of Political Science at Columbia University and Director of its Research Institute on International Change, led a discussion on "U.S.-Soviet Relations: Successions and Elections." The Chronicle Restaurant, Los Angeles.

May 4 - Luncheon Seminar

Professor Bialer led a discussion of "Stalinism and Reform in Soviet Historical Perspective." The Rand Corporation.

ATTACHMENT 2

June 19 - Luncheon Seminar

Andreas von Bülow, member of the West German Parliament and chairman of the Social Democratic Party, discussed "Issues in East and West German Defense." The Rand Corporation.

August 10

The Honorable Giulio Andreotti, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and His Excellency Rinaldo Petrignani, Italian Ambassador to the United States, discussed "Soviet-West European-U.S. Relations." The Rand Corporation.

September 14

Bert Salter, Senior Analyst in the Office of Soviet Affairs, CIA, led a seminar on "The Impact of Soviet Succession on U.S.-Soviet Relations." The Rand Corporation.

September 20 - Luncheon Seminar

Strobe Talbott, diplomatic correspondent for Time Magazine, spoke on "INF and START: What Went Wrong and Where Do We Go From Here?" The Rand Corporation.

October 4

Marton Tardos, a member of the Institute of Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, made a presentation on "Is Market Socialism Possible?" The Rand Corporation.

October 18-19 - Conference

The Center sponsored a major two-day conference on "U.S.-Soviet Relations: The Next Phase." The conference included a keynote dinner by Secretary of State George P. Shultz. UCLA and The Rand Corporation.

October 22

Klaus Montag, a leading East German specialist on international relations and chairman of East Germany's National Council of U.S. studies, conducted a seminar on "East German Foreign Policy and Inter-German Relations." The Rand Corporation.

November 13

Thane Gustafson, Director of the Soviet Studies Program at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, held a seminar on "The Politics of Soviet Oil: 1970-85: Why Did the Soviets Get Into Trouble in the First Place, and Are They Out of Trouble Yet?" The Rand Corporation.

November 27 - Fellows Seminar

Arnold Horelick will lead a discussion with the Center's Fellows and faculty concerning "The Prospects for U.S.-Soviet Relations in the Aftermath of the U.S. Elections."

December 11 - Luncheon Seminar

The Honorable Guenter Joetze, Consul General of the Federal Republic of Germany, will present a seminar on "East-West Negotiations on Multilateral Forces." UCLA.

**RAND/UCLA CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF
SOVIET INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR**

Conference on

U.S. SOVIET RELATIONS: THE NEXT PHASE

**October 18, 1984, University of California, Sunset Recreation Center,
Los Angeles**

8:30 a.m. - Continental Breakfast, Patio

9:00 a.m. - SESSION ONE: EVOLUTION OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

Chair: Brent Scowcroft, Henry Kissinger Associates

Papers:

**John Van Oudenaren, Rand/UCLA Center, Containment: Obsolete and Enduring
Features**

**Harry Gelman, Rand/UCLA Center, Rise and Fall of Detente: Lessons for the
Two Elites**

**Seweryn Bialer, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, Lessons from the
History of U.S.-Soviet Relations**

**Commentators: Jeremy Azrael, Department of State
George Breslauer, University of California, Berkeley**

12:30 p.m. - Lunch, Patio

**2:00 p.m. - SESSION TWO: DOMESTIC AND ALLIANCE DETERMINANTS OF U.S.
AND SOVIET POLICYMAKING**

Chair: Gail Lapidus, University of California, Berkeley

Papers:

**Joseph Nye, Jr., Harvard University, The Domestic Environment of U.S.
Policymaking**

**Dimitri Simes, Carnegie Endowment, Domestic Environment of Soviet
Policymaking**

**Robert Blackwill, Harvard University, European Influences and Constraints
on U.S. Policy Toward the Soviet Union**

**Andrzej Korbonski, Rand/UCLA Center, Eastern Europe and U.S.-Soviet
Relations**

**Commentators: Roman Kolkowicz, University of California, Los Angeles
Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Brookings Institution**

ATTACHMENT 3

DINNER KEYNOTE SPEECH, October 18, 1984
Beverly Wilshire Hotel, 9500 Wilshire Blvd, Los Angeles

Secretary of State George P. Shultz, U.S.-Soviet Relations

6:30 p.m. - Cocktails, Petit Trianon Room,
7:30 p.m. - Dinner, Keynote Address

October 19, 1984, The Rand Corporation, 1700 Main Street,
Main Conference Room

8:30 p.m. - Continental breakfast, Patio

9:00 a.m. - SESSION THREE: THE NEXT PHASE: ISSUE AREAS IN U.S.-
SOVIET RELATIONS

Chair: Larry Caldwell, Occidental College

Papers:

Abraham Becker, Rand/UCLA Center, Issues in U.S.-Soviet Economic
Relations

Frank Fukuyama, Rand/UCLA Center, U.S.-Soviet Interactions in the
Third World

Arnold Horelick and Edward Warner, Rand/UCLA Center, The Military
Competition and Arms Control

Commentators: Vladimir Treml, University of California, Berkeley
Dennis Ross, University of California, Berkeley
Strobe Talbott, Time Magazine

12:30 p.m. - Lunch, patio

2:00 p.m. - SESSION FOUR: THE NEXT PHASE: ALTERNATIVE FRAMEWORKS
FOR MANAGING U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

Chair: Alexander Dallin, Stanford University

Papers:

William Hyland, Council on Foreign Relations, The U.S. and U.S.S.R.: Rebuilding Relations

Richard Pipes, Harvard University, Survival Is Not Enough

Marshall Shulman, Harriman Institute, Columbia University,
The Next Phase

Commentators: Robert Legvold, Harriman Institute, Columbia University
Warren Zimmerman, Council on Foreign Relations

5:30 p.m. - Reception, Common Lounge

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